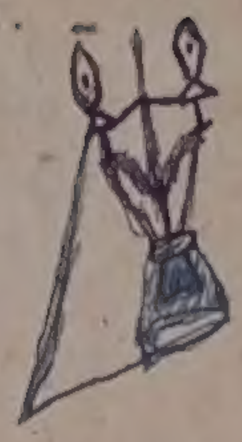
INTELLIGENT REPORT
ON
BENIN CITY
BY
H. F. MARSHALL

BENIN PROVINCE.



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INTELLIGENCE REPORT

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BENIN CITY

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I N D E X.

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I N D E X (CONTINUED)

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AN INTELLIGENCE REPORT ON BENIN CITY AND ITS ENVIRONS.

1. INTRODUCTORY.

SCOPE. This report deals with Benin City and some closely connected villages which lie just outside its walls. The most important of these villages are Uselu where the Oba's mother and the Oba's eldest son, the Edaiken, live and Uzebu, the village of the Ezomo (Ojomo) of Benin. In former times each of the Uzama title-holders of whom there are seven, including the Edaiken and Ezomo, had such a village but since the advent of Government most of these Uzama villages have fallen into decay and the few houses which remain have become merged in a greater Benin strectching beyond the walls of the old city.

THE PEOPLE.

2. For some centuries the people of Benin have been divided into two classess, the Adesolu who were a rulling class and the Ivbiotu who were the artisan class. The majority of the latter were probably in origin slaves. Although there has been inter-marriage between the two classes, as a general rule the Adesotu are a bigger and physically better type than the Ivbiotu.

3. The Adesotu were mainly a class of courtiers, relying on the perquisites of office for their livelihood. As might be expected of such a class they lack any real public spirit.

4. With a Government School, several large Mission Schools and since 1937 a Middle School built by the Native Administration and staffed by Government, Benin City has been well served in the matter of education. There are probably very few men in Benin under the age of 25 who can not read, write and speak English. On the other hand there is only a very small highly educated class while there is a fairly large, and ever growing class who are sufficiently educated and sufficiently interested to read the Papers.

THE "BENIN COMMUNITY

5. It is from this last class that the main backing of the party who are known as the Benin Community are drawn. In politics they are democratic but politics make strange bed-fellows and some of the most reactionary of the title-holders associate themselves with the "Benin Community".

6. So far as I have been able to discover the term "Benin Community" was first used in a potition addressed to Government shortly before the installation of the present Oba in 1933. Of the twenty-one signatories of that petition fifteen were traders and the rest were of the clerical class. After expressing loyalty to the Edaiken, as the Oba then was, the petitioners made various suggestions for the betterment of the administration and the removal of certain restriction. These suggestions were, in most cases, not unreasonable and with the exception of the suggestion that Chiefs should be appointed by ballot, were not revolutionary.

7. Most of the requests contained in this petition were granted and little more was heard of the Benin Community until the water-rate agitation started in 1937. This agitation not only altered the composition of the Benin Community but revealed a very changed attitude towards the Oba. What had before been a normal progressive party, now became the focus of all those who for onse reason or another were dissatisfied with the present administration and the Oba in particular. Personal animosities and self interest were often behind the attacks which were levelled at the Oba.

8. But during the past year the position of the Benin Community has undergone another change. The water-rate agitation has died down with a corresponding decrease in the influence of the Benin Community. The views Expressed by the Benin Community on re-organisation are those rather of the comparatively small progressive party

rather than of the comparatively large party who supported them over the water-rate question. It must however be noted that much of the personal bitterness engendered by the water-rate dispute has found expression on the question of re-organisation.

COMPILATION OF THE REPORT

9. In February, 1938, His Honour the Acting Chief Commissioner, Southern Provinces suggested at a public meeting that the Benin Community should write their own Intelligence Report. This was done but the report which they submitted was not sufficiently detailed to form a basis for re-organisation. A copy of the Benin Community's Report is attached to this report.

10. The information contained in the present report was collected at a series of meetings held at the Oba's Egware. These meetings were attended by the Oba, members of the three title-societies of the Adesotu, and representatives of the Benin Community. To these meetings representatives of each section of the community have come to explain their own position.

GLOSSARY.

11. The following local terms will be used in this report:-

Oba .. .. The hereditary paramount ruler of Benin.

Edaiken .. .. The eldest son of the Oba and heir apparent. (Note: The Oba's eldest son does not assume the title of Edaiken until the ceremony of showing him to the people has been performed. There after he goes to live in Uselu).

Uzama .. .. Hereditary title-holders of the highest grade.

Eghaevbo .. .. A generic term for the highest rank of title holders who are appointed by the Oba.

Eghaevbo N' Oro	Eghaevbo title-holders whose titles are attached to the town as opposed to the Palace.
Eghaevbo N'Ogbe .. .	Eghaevbo title-holders whose titles are attached to the Palace.
Okhaime (PL:Ekhaime)	Any title holder.
Iwebo	The Senior of the three Palace societies.
Iweguae	The 2nd of the Palace society
Ibiwe	The junior palace society.
Adesotu	A generic term for all persons who by birth or appointment are members of one of the three societies.
Ivbiotu	A generic term for all citizens of Benin who were not by birth or appointment members of one of the societies.
Otu	A guild.

PROPOSALS FOR THE FUTURE.

12. It will be recommended that Benin City and its environs should form a unit for administrative and judicial purposes with a council subordinate to the Native Authority for the whole Division. It will also be recommended that the area covered by this report should be a financial unit.

STRANGERS.

13. Within Benin City there are Yoruba, Hausa and Ibo communities but none of these are sufficiently large to deserve separate treatment.

CONSULTATION WITH THE PEOPLE.

14. The proposals for the future have been fully discussed at representative meetings. Divergencies of opinion are dealth with in the report.

II - Geographical.

II. GEOGRAPHICAL.

AREA AND POPULATION

15. The area covered by this report is estimated at 8 square miles. According to the nominal rolls the adult male population is shown as 2459 giving an estimated population or 8852. The present nominal rolls, however, can not be taken as an accurate guide. The Oba, himself estimates the total population as 20,000 but this figure is in my opinion too high and I should be inclined to put it at 13,000. I base this figure on the fact that there are over 2,000 tenements assessed for water rate and these tenements hold on an average at least six persons. Taking 13,000 as the estimated population the density works out at 162.5 to the square mile. The distribution of this population is approximately as follow:-

Unit.	Adult Males.	Total Population.
Benin City	3165	11,395
Uselu	250	900
Uzebu	180	650
Urubi	15	55
Total	3,610	13,000

BOUNDARIES.

16. The area covered by this report is bounded on the East by the Ikpoba, on the south and south-west by the old wall which surrounded the City of Benin. To the north-west and north the area extends outside the city wall to include the Uzama villages and then returns to the city wall as its boundary on the north-west.

PHYSICAL FEATURES

17. Benin City is situated on a level plateau above and to the west of the Ikpoba valley. The soil is Benin sand. It is an important road centre. The main East and West road from Onitsha to Ibadan, enters the city over the Ikpoba bridge and bending to the north passes through the Uzama village of Uselu. A Public Works Department road runs from Benin to Sapele which is the 'port' for Benin

City ...../

City. There is also a public works Department road to Ogba where there is a Government Agricultural Station. The Native Administration maintain roads to Siluko to the north-west and Ekenwan to the south-west. Benin city thus taps the bulk of the trade, not only of the whole Benin Division but of parts of the Ishan Division and the Owo Division of the Ondo Province.

III. HISTROCIAL.

18. In this report I propose only to deal with the History of the Benin Kingdom in so far as it affected the development of Benin City. A fairly full history of Benin was contained in an Intelligence Report compiled by Mr. H..I Hevins, District Officer, in 1924 and it has also been dealth with in various published works, noteably "Great Benin, its Customs, Arts and Horrors", by H.Ling Roth.

THE CREATION. 19. According to Bini tradition Ife, locally known as Uhe, was the cradle of the human race and was the only land in the world. Ododuwa, the first king of Ife, possessed a snail shell which had the magical power of creating earth. Shortly before his death Ododuwa called his seven sons and, giving to each of them a portion of the "medicine" from the magical snail-shell, sent them out to form the inhabited world. One of Ododuwa's sons was called Obanigodo and on receiving his share from the magical snail-shell he set out with his followers to the south-east. Creating land as he went, he finally reached the present site of Benin and there he and his followers settled down and gave the place the name of Ugodo N'Igoda. Certain of the present inhabitants of Benin claim to trace their descent from this first migration.

20. It should be noted that certain of the intelligencia are no longer prepared to accept this traditional story but claim that the original inhabitants came straight from Egypt: there is no tradition and even less evidence on which they can base this claim. On the

other hand there is the undoubted fact that linguistic experts are agreed that the Edo language is unconnected with Yoruba and certain Edo villages, notably Udo and certain of the Isi villages, have their own story of the creation which appear to have nothing to do with Ife. The story of the creation given above probably refers only to a ruling class who came from Ife and found here an earlier race of whose origin nothing is known.

THE OGISO PERIOD.

21. The descendants of Obanigodo are said to have rules in Ugodo M'Igodo, the name was later changed to Ile, for many generations. Their names, however, are not remembered except for the last of the line who was known as Ogiso. The whole period is commonly referred to as the Ogiso period.

22. According to tradition, although Ogiso had very many wives he had only one son who was called Kaladeran. His wives persuaded Ogiso to consult an oracle to discover the cause of their barrenness. He sent his senior wife to the oracle and when she returned she reported that Kaladeran was the cause and that the oracle had said that he must be killed. Yielding to the persuasion of his wives, Ogiso finally agreed that Kaladeran should be killed but gave secret instructions to the executioners that he should be spared provided that he did not return to Benin. Kaladeran gave the necessary undertaking and after wandering in the bush settled down and formed the village of Ughoton.

23. In spite of the supposed death of Kaladeran Ogiso's wives still failed to produce a son and second and larger deputation was sent to consult the oracle. It was then revealed that the oracle had never accused Kaladeran at all but had accused the senior wife. She was immediately killed and a message was sent to Kaladeran asking him to return but he refused and Ogiso died without an heir.

The Inter-Regnum.

24. It seems probable that at this time Ile consisted of a number of scattered hamlets situated between the present site of Benin and the Ikpoba River, and that each of these hamlets was under the control of its elders. After the death of Ogiso the one unifying force had gone and a state of intermicine war broke out between the hamlets. At last some of the elders decided to ask the Oni of Ife, locally called the Oghene Uhe, to send a son to rule over them. This policy was, however, opposed by Envian, the most powerful of the elders, and per-haps by others. It is said that Envian sent to the ferry-men at the Ovia (Osse) and instructed them that they were not to allow anyone from Ife to cross the river and that the first two sons sent by the Oni of Ife were drowned by these ferry-men when crossing the river.

25. The Oni was finally persuaded to send his third son, Agamiyan or Oramiyan. He was wiser than his brothers and did not attempt to come to Ile direct but settled first at Usehin to the west of the Ovia. The elders who had sent for him went to meet him at Usehin and it was probably Agamiyan who conferred on them the Yoruba titles which are now known as the Uzama titles. There were five of them in number and the title conferred on them were Oliha, Edohen, Ezomo (Ojomo), Ero and Eholor. Agamiyan also conferred the title of Oloton on his own brother who had accompanied him from Ife.

26. It should be noted that the Uzama title-holders claim that their titles date from the Ogiso period but if this were the case it is difficult to understand why only some of the elders held Yoruba titles while others who were at least as important, particularly Envian, did not. It seems much more probable that the elders who supported Agamiyan were rewarded by titles while those who opposed him naturally received no titles.

27. While at Usehin Agamiyan took to himself a wife

called ../

called Erimide from Egoh, a village near Ile. According to the story Agamiyan, having first bribed the ferry-men then moved towards Ile and got as far as Uzama just to the north-west of the present city wall. There he was crowned and settled down surrounded by his supporters, the Uzama. The greater part of the country under the leadership of Envian still refused to recognise him and even his own supporters were so truclent that he decided that only one of themselves could rule over them and decided to go back to Ife having first re-named the country Ile-binu a name which, corrupted to Benin, stuck sufficiently long to become known to the early European explorers, although to the native themselves it has been known as Edo since the reign of Oba Eware (circa 1440).

28. Agamiyan left behind him his wife Erimide who at the time of his departure was pregnant. Agamiyan said that she would bare him a son and this child, being himself half Bini, should rule over the people. Although Agamiyan is supposed to have been crowned at Usama he is not generally included in the list of Obas.

THE EARLY OBAS.

29. After the departure of Agamiyan his wife gave birth to a son as he had predicted. It is said that this child was born dumb but that when he was a boy he was playing the game known as "Akhue" with other boys and in the excitment of winning the game he suddenly exclaimed "Owomika" meaning "I succeed". He was nick-named Owomika which later was corrupted to Eweka and he was crowned under that name as Usama.

30. Eweka and the two succeeding Obas remained at Usama surrounded by the Uzamas who treated them more as equals than as Kings. The greater part of the people, living on the banks of the Ikpoba river still did not recognise the Oba's authority.

EWEDO AND THE ENTRY TO

31. The fourth Oba was called Ewedo and it was during his reign that the immediate neighbourhood was brought under the control of the Oba and that the Oba

removed into what is now known as Benin. It is said that at that time Ogiame, the son of Envian was the principal leader of the party who did not recognise the Oba. Ewedo entered into a secret agreement with Ogiame by which Ogiame agreed, in return for certain privileges, to betray his own party and to grant to the Oba land which had previously been in Ogiame's possession. In order to save his face, Ogiame arranged to put up some resistance to the Oba's forces, but then to capitulate. Battle was joined but after two of the Ogiame's lieutenants had been killed, Ogiame retreated and sued for terms. An agreetment was reached where-by the Oba took possession of a site near the present Eguae. A boundary was fixed between the Oba's land and the Ogiame's land at a market known as Ekiokpagha which was near the present site of St. Matthews Church. A juju was sworn and Ewedo undertook that every Oba, on his installation, should give to the Ogiame two men, two women and two of every kind of cattle and also should give permission to the Ogiame to rule beyond the boundary at Ekiokpagba. Up to the present time, on the installation of the Oba, a mock battle is fought with Ogiame, the prescribed gifts are given and the Ogiame is given permission to rule though it would seem that since the time of Oba Ewaare the Ogiame has not in fact exercised any administrative functions.

32. Having removed from Usama, Ewedo had achieved his main objective. He had obtained the submission of the whole of Benin and had removed himself from the midst of his unruly supporters. So unruly had these supporters become that Ewedo had nick-named them "Eza-mo" meaning "They do not respect." This is said to be the origin of the term Uzama which is applied to the Yoruba title holders. Having removed to Benin Ewedo decided to consolidate his position against the Uzamaz. Hitherto they had treated him as an equal, had sat down with him and had not even bothered to salute him, but when they

first came to see him in his new surroundings they found him sitting with a juju on either side of him. Fearing the ju-jus they saluted them in the traditional manner that is by clapping their clenched right fist into their left palm and then thrusting it out towards the ju-ju. Since that time this is the form of salute always accorded to the Oba title holders. Fearing the jujus they also remained standing while addressing the Oba, another mark of respect which is still accorded to him.

33. Ewedo is also said to have established the Iyashere and Esogban titles. Unlike the Uzama titles these titles were not hereditary and were in the gift of the Oba so that the Oba could expect the holders to these titles to give him loyal support and to act as a foil to the Uzamas. Although the Uzamas rank as the senior class of title-holder, the Iyashere becamse his principal adviser and the most important title-holder in Benin.

34. I have gone into some detail in outlining this early period in the history of Benin as an understanding of it is necessary to explain certain apparent anomalies in the administrative system. It explains why the Uzamas, the senior rank of title holders live outside Benin and play a less important part in the administration of Benin than do the other grades of title-holders and it also explains how it is that the Oba who is generally accepted as the "owner" of the land pays certain dues on his succession to the Ogiame and to certain other persons who present the original owners of the land. Ownership of land is so closely connected with fertility that it can not be acquired either by conquest or by peaceful penetration. The ju-ju which keeps the land fertile must be served and this can only be done by the hereditary priests of the ju-ju who usually represent the original owners of the land. In Benin there are several such priests particularly Ojioba who claims to be descended from the person who carried the snail-shell from Ife,

Enyian.

Envian, Ogiame and the three Efa priests. These priests, although they took no particular part in the administration, were and still are of great importance as upon them depends the fertility of the land.

OBA EWUARE. 35. During the reigns of the next seven Obas the influence of the Obas was gradually extended but no events of importance took place in Benin itself. It is said Ewedo's successor, Oguola, built the outer wall mainly as a defence against Udo which at that time was the principal rival to Benin.

36. In the middle of the fifteenth century there came to the throne Oba Ewuare, who is generally regarded as the greaterst of all the Obas and it is from his reign that modern Benin may be said to date.

37. It is said that during the life time of his father, Ogun, who afterwards became Ewuare, and his younger brother Uwaifiokun, were banished from the city. During this period of banishment Ogun wandered not only throughout the world but also visited heaven. On the death of his father Ogun sent his younger brother Uwaifiokun to Benin to discover whether the elders wished him to return but, on arrival at Benin, Uwaifiokun usurped the position of Oba. Ogun came to Benin and having murdered his brother burnt the town, but was afterwards made Oba under the name of Ewuare or Owo-ruare meaning "It is cool" or "The trouble has finished". He constructed the inner wall and laid out the town on a new plan. It was divided into two parts by a street known as Akpakpava. This street entered the city by the Uzebu gate and, following the line of the present Ekenwan road, passed through the present fort and followed the line of the Sapoba road. The area to the south-west of this road was known as Ogbe, the Royal quarter, while the area to the north-east of the road was known as Oremokwa. (Ore - a cleared space in front of a house; nokwa - large).

38. The Usama title holders were stil outside the

city ..

City, while the grade of title-holders started by Ewedo came to live in Ore-nokwa. It would appear that, just as in the time of the early Obas the Uzamas had become over powerful, now the new title-holders were becoming a menace to the Obas power. Ewuare, however, decided to take the sons of the principal elders in Ore-nokwa and from them to create a Court-party who would live round him in Ogbe. Hitherto personal service to the Oba had been done by slaves, but Ewuare succeeded in creating the Iwebo society, composed of the sons of free-born citizens, and gave them certain functions in the palace. He conferred on some of them titles and gradually a distinction was drawn between title-holders in the palace and title-holders in the town, the former being known as Eghaevbo-n'ogbe and the latter as Eghaevbo-n'ore.

39. To Ewuare also is attributed the organisation of Benin on a guild system, though certain of the guilds claim a much earlier origin.

OBA OZOLUA. 40. The next two reigns were without events of importance but about 1481 Oba Ozolua succeeded. He had been banished and had founded the villages of the Ora Clan in the Ishan Division. On his return to Benin he found both the town and the Benin territory in a state of revolt but with the help of his followers from Ora and of certain loyal sections in Benin he subduced first the town and then the whole of the Benin territories. He reign is principally of importance for two events; the founding of the Iweguae Society, and the arrival of the first European in Benin, Alfonso d'Aveiro.

OBA ESIGIE. 41. Ozolua was succeeded by Esigie during whose reign there were two major wars, the one against Udo where the Oba's brother Aruaran had established himself, and other against the Atta of Idda, in both of which the Oba was ultimately successful. It is said that Esigie's son, who became Oba Orhogbua was educated in Portugal, but a more popularly received story is that he visited Portugal

after he became Oba.

42. It was probably about this time that the Benin Kingdom reached the hay-day of its power, its influence extending from Lagos on the west to the Niger on the east. It is not nedessary to recount here the traditional deeds of all the Obas a list of whom it given in Appendix 'A'. Early in the eighteenth century, in the reign of Oba Akenzua, the third of the great societies, the Ibiwe society, was formed from the descendants of the Oras who had come with Oba Ozolua. It was also from this reign that succession was made to pass to the eldest son only. Hitherto any son had been capable of succeeding to an hereditary title.

43. In 1892 a trade treaty was concluded between the Consul-General of the Niger Coast Protectorate and the Oba Ovonrame. It was because the terms of this treaty were not being adhered to that Acting Consul-General Phillips decided to visit Benin with nine other Europeans and 280 carriers. This was in January 1897. The party was ambushed and massacred on the way from Ughoton (Gwatto) to Benin. In February a punitive expedition left for Benin and had captured the city by the 17th of that month. The Oba and many of the principal title-holders had fled. The whole of the Benin Territories were annexed to the Niger Coast Protectorate and the administration was handed over to the civil power on the 15th of March.

HISTORY UNDER GOVERNMENT.

44. The position then was that the Niger Coast Protectorate were in control of Benin City and the country to the south of it. It was also nominally in control of all the country which had owed allegiance to the Oba but the extent of the territories involved was unknown and these territories had not yet been brough under control. In the meanwhile the Oba and the principal title-holders were still at large.

45. The policy which was pursued was to invite these title-holders and the subject villages to come in and make

their submission. Somewhere to the west was the sphere of influence of the Lagos Colony administration, while to the north and east was the sphere of influence of the Royal Niger Company. It seems, though the point is not clear, that on making their submission the villages were expected to pay a fine of farm produce to stone for the part that they had played in the massacre. This, no doubt, caused some of the remoter villages to deny their allegiance to the Oba and to sign agreement with one of the alternative Government.

46. Immediately after the Expedition it was decided to establish a Native Council composed of the more important title-holders who had made their submission. The people appointed to this council in the order of their appointment were Oshodin and Osague in June, Ehondor and Obahiagbon in July and Iyashere, Arase, Osula, Ehi and Ero in September 1897. The last four were probably appointed after the Oba had made his submission and been deported to Calabar.

47. The Council, sitting with the Resident as President, exercised both administrative and judicial functions.

48. In the meanwhile certain of the title-holders remained at large, notably the Ologboshere and Ebohon who had formed an armed camp near Ehor, and who successfully blocked access to the Ishan country for two years. In 1899 a punitive expedition was lead against them and they were both captured and the Ologboshere was tried and executed for the part he had played in the Benin Massacre.

49. It will be better to deal with subsequent administrative and judicial development under those respective heads. Here it is only necessary to note that the history of Benin since the advent of Government has been generally peaceful and that in 1914, on the death of Oba Ovonrame in exile, it was decided to apoint his son as Oba and he was duly crowned as Oba Eweka II.

IV. ADMINISTRATIVE.

ANCIENT SYSTEM.

50. The administrative system in Benin as it existed prior to the advent of Government is said to owe its origin to the reforms introduced by Oba Ewuare in the middle of the fifteenth century. In the succeeding four and a half centuries there were, of course, developments and innovations but the basic organisation remained unchanged.

51. The citizens of Benin fell into two distinct classes, the nobility (Adesotu), from whom all the high officers of state were drawn, and the common people (Ivbiotu). The nobility were organised into three Societies, known as Iwebo, Iweguae and Ibiwe, each of which had certain functions to perform in the palace, while the common people were organised in a number of guilds, each guild serving the Oba according to its trade or calling. These guilds, of which there were more than fifty, were geographical and administrative units, the council of the guild being responsible for the administration of the guild. The members of the nobility usually lived in certain parts of the town which were set aside for them and took no direct part in the administration of the guilds. They were more closely concerned with the affairs of the palace and with matters of state.

THE GUILDS.

52. The basic of the guild system was that the guild was formed to supply some need of the Oba's to enumerate but a few of them there was the brass-workers guild which supplied all objects of brass required by the palace, there were the black-smiths and the carpentere and the leather-workers and the doctors and the store-keepers; there were the drummers and the dancers, the leopard-hunters and the butchers and many more, but the largest class of all were the guilds whose function it was to make sacrifice to one of the many jujus with which ancient Benin abounded. In return for these services to Oba

each ../

each guild was given a monpoly in its particular trade or craft, so that they were guilds in the proper sense of the term.

53. As new needs arose new guilds would be formed, usually by the emancipation of slaves, though in some cases free-men would be taken to form a new guild. Once a guild had been formed it was run mainly on a family basis, that is to say that a son automatically became a member of his father's guild. Transfer between guilds was, however, permitted and in certain cases was usual. For example, if a man from the leather-workers' guild married a wife from the black-smiths guild and had many sons by her, he would probably put one of his sons in the black-smiths' guild as a mark of respect of his wife. When that son grew up and had sons of his own he might put one of them into the leather-workers' guild as a mark of respect to his father. Some guilds were of course more profitable, and therefore more popular than others and these guilds would never lack recruits, but where the strength of a guild was declining, the Oba could always remedy the position by emancipating slaves and adding them to the guild.

54. Originally each guild was organised on an age-grade basis, there were usually only two grades known as Enola and Edion, but, probably long before the advent of Government, age as a basis for promotion had gone and purchase had taken its place. At the present time a man can buy Edion status for his infant son though the child can not perform the necessary ceremonies until he comes of age.

55. In some of the guilds, in addition to the Edion there were one or more title-holders. These title-holders were only of importance in their own guild and must not be confused with the title-holders in the three great Societies. Some of these titles were hereditary but more often they were appointed by the Oba from the members of

the guild .../

the guild. The council of the guild consisted of the title-holders and the Edion, but where there was no title, the head of the guild was either the Odionwele, the senior member of the Edion grade, or, in some cases an Okao, a man appointed by the Oba who did not rank as a tittled man.

56. A list of the guild which at present exist is given in Appendix 'B', while notes on them, giving the names of titles held in each guild, are contained in Appendix 'C'.

THE SOCIETIES. 57. Above and separated from these guilds were the three great societies. It is important to notice that these were essentially palace societies, each society having its own apartment in the palace and each society being responsible for a special branch of the Oba's household. It would seem that they had their origin in an attempt by the Oba to build up a palace party as opposed to the town party. But what ever may have been the origin of these societies they developed into 'title-holder clubs' the members of which took a share of the title-fees paid by new members. The children of members were themselves regarded as honorary members of their father's society but were not admitted to the privileges of membership until they had been initiated and had paid their initiation fees. Membership of a society was not restricted to sons of members but was open to any free-born citizen of Benin. Application for membership would be made to the Oba who would consult the head of the Society, and also the head of the applicant's own guild. It must of course be remembered that entry to one of these societies was an expensive undertaking and that in a primitive community the head of the family holds the purse strings. A father would be reluctant to see his son become a member of a society until he had reached a fairly advanced age as once the son joined society the father lost his control over him.

58. The Societies themselves were organised into

grades, usually five in number, the three junior grades carrying with them no titles, the two senior being restricted to title-holders. The names of the three junior grades were Ibierugha, Odofen (Odion in the Ibiwe Society) and Ukor. Promotion through these grades was merely a matter of purchase. Once a man had become 'Ukor' he was entitled to dress his hair in a special fashion known as 'Igwakpata'. The hair is dressed so that it stands straight up on the forehead and forms a 'tiara' of hair.

59. Promotion beyond the Ukor grade depended on taking a title, the gift of which was in the hands of the Oba. Attached to each of the Societies there were a number of traditional titles which would be filled by members of the society as they fell vacant. In addition the Oba had the right to creat new titles and attach them to a certain society. As all vacancies were filled by the Oba, promotion depended on winning his favour.

60. The Oba could confer a title in one society on a member of another society or even on a person who was not yet a member of any society, but before the candidate could take up the title he must become a member of the society to which the title was attached and must pay the fees of all the grades in that society up to the grade in which his title was held. It was forbidden for a person who had been initiated in the Iweguae society ever to leave it. If a little in one of the other societies was conferred on a member of Iweguae, he would put his son in the society to which the title was attached.

61. Seniority among title-holders of the same grade usually depended on the seniority of the Oba who created the title, but this rule applied only to the first new title created by the Oba in that grade. That is to say that the first title created by the present Oba in any grade would rank higher than a second title created by any previous Oba in the same grade. For example, suppose that

Oba Ovonrame created three titles, A, B And C in the Ekhaime n'Iweguae grade and that Eweka II created two, D and E and the present Oba three, F, G, and H. The order of seniority will be as follows:-

1. A. Oba Ovonrame
2. B. Oba Eweka II
3. F. Oba Akenzuwa II
4. B. Oba Ovonrame
5. C. Oba Ovonrame
6. E. Oba Eweka
7. G. Oba Akenzuwa II
8. H. Oba Akenzuwa II.

62. It is said, however, that the Oba can buy seniority for any title, either created by himself or by a predecessor. Purchase of seniority in this way seems to have been rare until recent times, but is now becoming comparatively common.

THE IWEBO SOCIETY.

63. The senior of the three Societies is the Iwebo Society. The story goes that Ewuare brought back from his travels when in exile a new form of bead known as Ivie Ewuare. He asked the important men of the town to send their sons to the palace to learn how to make and string these beads. At first the town's people were afraid to send their sons but sent instead their slaves. These slaves, who were lead by a man called Eriyo, were given an appartment in the palace and there learnt their new trade. The Oba then sent for the senior men of the town and paraded before them these bead-makers dressed in the fine new bead dresses. The people were much impressed and revealed that these were not their sons but their slaves. It was these sons of the town's men who became the Iwebo Society. The Oba gave some of them titles, and also gave the appartments in the palace. In course of time the Iwebo society became responsible for the Oba's regalia. At the present time there are nine apartments in Iwebo as follows:-

follows:-

Ewevien	created	by	Oba Ewuare
Iwenekwa	"	"	Ozoluwa
Iweribo	"	"	Esigie
Iwosa	"	"	Eresoyen
Iwojomo	"	"	Akengbuda
Iwenene	"	"	Obanosa
Iwaduwa	"	"	Osemwede
Iwegie	"	"	Akenzua II
Iwenogbon	"	"	Ehengbuda.

It is said that Ewevien was the apartment created for Eriyo, the slave, though it is the senior apartment the head of the apartment is not the senior member of the Iwebo society, nor is the title of Eriyo in the senior title grade. A dispute as to seniority arose between Uwangue the senior title-holder of Iwenekwa and Eribo, the senior title-holder of Iweribo but this dispute was settled in favour of Uwangue in the time of Esigie, and since that time the holder of the Uwangue title has been the head of the Iwebo society. The Iwenegbon apartment should have ranked fourth, it is said that its founder, Oba Ehengbuda wished it to be senior and consulted the diviners of Ewaise with that object in view, but four times the diviners said that it should be last so that the Iwenegbon apartment is always the most junior apartment. Titles created Obas who did not themselves create a separate apartment are affiliated to the Iwenekwa apartment.

64. In Iwebo there are three title-grades Eghaevbo n'Ogbe, Uregakpa, and Ogie Ukor n'Iwebo.

65. The Eghaevbo titles held in each of the apartment are as follows:-

Ewevien	None
Iwenekwa	Uwangue
	Isasoyen
	Obamariaye
	Ovienrioba

Iweribo	Eribo
Iwosa	Osague
Iwojomo	Aiyobahan
Iwenene	Glaiya
Iwasduwa	Obaduagbon
Iwegie	Aiwerioba
Iwenegbon	None.

66. The Uregekpa grade is ~~peculiar~~ Peculiar to the Iwebo society. It is said that, during the reign of Ewuare, the people of Benin were much troubled by a rain-bow at the foot of which there were two great beasts which devoured the people of Benin. At last the Oba sent a messenger to the supreme God asking for his assistance. The messenger returned with a message that the God would come and visit the Oba on a certain date. The Oba at once set a gang of men on to build a house for the God opposite his own house. While these men were working on the house a stranger arrived and stood and watched them, presently he came forward and showed them where to put the pegs for the house and started to help them with the work. After a time the Oba came out and seeing the stranger asked him who he was and the stranger replied that he was Ihaza, the messenger of the Gods. The Oba ordered him to be lodged and in due course Ihaza caused the beasts that were troubling the city to be destroyed and he then returned to heaven, but since that time the Oba has always created an Ihaza title and made him the head of the Uregakpa, who are supposed to represent the people who looked after the original Ihaza. (Note:- There are so many stories of supernatural happenings in the time of Oba Ewuare, that it seems probale that some calamity, such as an earthquake or a thunder bolt, did over-come Benin in his reign. It is significant that the Osa, the priest of the ju-ju worshipped by black-smiths, is said to have falled from heaven during the time of Ewuare. A thunder-bolt might also explain the great fire which is said to have been started by Ewuare

himself).

67. Not all the Uregakpa titles are held in Iwebo, some of them being held in Iweguae. The list is as follows:-

Title	Society.
Ihaza	Iwebo
Obazoriaye	Iwebo
Oghator	Iweguare or Iwebo
Ehioba	Iwebo
Obarisiuwa	Iwebo
Eranuwen	Iweguae
Aghahan	Iwebo
Agona	Iwebo
Oshian	Iwebo
Obasisagbon	Iwebo
Uwogo	Iweguae.

Although the Ihaza is not properly an Eghaevbo title-holder his position is one of great important in Benin.

68. The third and junior grade of title-holders in Iwebo is known as Ogie Ukor n'Iwebi. A list of the titles of this grade is given in Appendix 'D'.

THE IWEGUAE SOCIETY

69. The second society, Iweguae, was created by Oba Ozoluwa and was given charge of the OBA's private apartment and personal attendants. Unlike Iwebo they had only one apartment for the whole society. There are two title-grades known as Eghaevbo n'Ogbe and Ekhaime.

70. The Eghaevbo n'Ogbe titles in this society are as follows:-

Title.	By whom created.	Remarks.
Esere	Ozoluwa	
Obazelu	Akenzuwa I.	Seniority purchased by Eweka II.
Aighobahi	Eweka II.	
Obaruyiedo	Akenzuwa	Seniority purchased by present Oba.
Obaeeki	Ovonrame	Seniority purchased by Eweka II.

Title.	By Whom created	Remarks.
Obadagbonyi	Adolor	
Obadesagbon	Ovonrame	Elevated to Eghaevbo by Eweka II who purchased seniority for Obadesagbon.
Akenuwa	Akengbuda.	
Ovienzowoba	Akenzuwa II.	

A list of the Ekhaime title-holders in Iweguae is given in Appendix 'D'.

THE IBIWE SOCIETY

71. The third and junior society is the Ibiwe Society, which is responsible for the Oba's harem. This society really consists of two parts, Ibiwe proper and Erueric. The Erueric claim to have come from Ife with the Oba. Their name would seem to imply that they were originally the slaves (eru) of the harem (eric).

72. The Ibiwe proper trace their origin to those followers of Oba Ozoluwa from Ora who assisted him to take up the title of Oba. It is said that they first lived outside Benin at Enyae but were later brought into Benin. They were always very loyal to the Oba and were known as 'the left hand of the leopard', for the Oba always struck his enemies by them just as the leopard always struck with its left paw. It is said that in the time of Oba Ehengbuda, the Oba decided to visit Lagos. He called on the Iwebo and Iweguae Societies to accompany him but they both made excuses. He then called on the Ibiwe who said they would follow the Oba anywhere. Convinced of their loyalty, he instructed the Ibiwe to remain in Benin to look after his wives and children. It is from this time that Ibiwe's connection with the harem dates, though it was not until the time of Oba Akenzuwa I that the Ibiwe were granted the position of a society.

73. There are two branches of the Eghaevbo n'Ogbe title grade in Ibiwe, those in Ibiwe proper and those in Erueric. In Ibiwe the titles are as follows:-

Title.	By whom created.
Ine	Akenzuwa I.
Obazuaiye	Akengbuda.
Obahiagbon	Adolor
Obamoyi	Ovonrame
Aiyobajiegbe	Eweka II
Obayuwana	Ovonrame
Obaradesuwa	Akenzuwa II
Obarojuwa	Akenzuwa II

In Erueric there are the following Eghaevbo n'Ogbe titles:-

Title	By whom created.
Oshodin	Ewuare
Uso	Ewedo
Ezuako	Esigie
Obazowa	Osamwede

74. A list of the Ekhaime titles in Ibiwe is given in Appendix 'D'. There were no Ekhaime titles in Erueric. Before one can take a title in Ibiwe one has to become an Ukor Erueric and pay the fees. The Ibiwe society unlike the other societies does not get a share of title-fees, and the title-holders are not allowed to carry the ceremonia; sword called 'Ada'.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SOCIETIES AND THE GUILDS.

75. It has been seen that each of these societies was in charge of a branch of the Ob's house-hold, and that each of the guilds had its special function to perform for the Oba. According to the nature of this service each of the guild was affiliated to one or other of the Societies. For example the Igbesavban guild who were carvers in wood and ivory were affiliated to Iwebo as their products were part of the regalia. The large class of Ewaise, Oba's doctors, were affiliated to Iweguae, while the Ibieric who carried out the repairs to the buildings of the harem were affliated to Ibiwe. It is difficult to discover what such affiliation entailed. The members of an affiliated guild could apparently use the apartment in the palace set aside for the society to which they were affiliated, though they

took no part in meeting of the Society. In some cases, but not in all, messages from the Oba would be sent through the Society to which the guild was affiliated, but the society does not appear to have exercised any control over the internal affairs of the guild. The real position seems to have been that the society was only concerned with the guild in so far as the guild's relationship to the Oba was concerned. On the other hand, a member of an affiliated guild might use the name of the Society. Thus the expression ' I am Iwebo' may mean one of three things, it may mean ' am a fully initiated member of the Iwebo Society'; it may mean ' am the son of a member of Iwebo, though not yet initiated' or it may mean ' I am a member of guild which is affiliated to Iwebo'.

EGHAEVBON'ORE. 76. Besides the Eghaevbo n'Ogbe of the Societies, there was another, and older, class of title-holders known as the Eghaevbo n'Ore. This grade of title-holders would appear to have had its origin in the titles created by Oba Ewedo after his entry into Benin, though the Iyashere, who is the senior title-holder of this grade claims that many of the titles came from Ife with the original migration. He agrees, however, that the titles are created by the Oba and that they can not exist without an Oba, so that even if such titles did exist during the Ogiso period, they became extinct during the interregnum and were re-created after the second Yoruba migration.

77. These titles are 'town titles' and though their holders are members of one or other of the societies, they are not in such close and daily contact with the palace. The holders of these titles have always lived in Ofenokwa, while the Eghaevbo n'Ogbe titles-holders lived in the royal quarter call Ogbe. The Eghaevbo n'Ore titles are as follows:-

Title.	Society.
Iyashere	Iwebo or Iweguae
Esogban	Ibiwe

Title.	Society.
Eson	Iwebo
Osuma	Iwebo or Iweguae
Esama	Iwebo
Ologboshere	Iweguae (Hereditary)
Osula	Iweguae
Ima	Iwebo or Ibiwe
Obasiagbon	Ibiwe
Obaruyiedo	Iweguae
Obaraye	Iwebo
Obasuyi	Iwebo
Obayagbona	Iwebo
Aiwerrioghene	Iwebo
Iguosadoba	Iwebo
Osayiuwanoba	Iwebo
Aihioba	Iweguae.

The Iyashere ranks as the senior title-holder in Benin, though the Uzamas are a senior title grade to the Eghaevbo n'Ore. He pays slightly higher title-fees than any other title-holder and is regarded as the principal adviser to the Oba.

THE UZAMAS

78. The Uzama title-holders, although living outside the walls of Benin City were so closely connected with the Oba that mention must be made of them in a report on Benin City. There were seven of these Uzama titles, six of them trace their descent from the original supporters of Agamiyan, the leader of the second Yoruba migration. The seventh is the Edaiken, the Oba's senior son and heir-apparent. Thier titles in order of seniority are as follows:-

Oliha

Edohen

Ojomo (Ezomo)

Ero

Eholor

Oloton

UZAMA VILLAGES.

79. Each Uzama had its own village immediately outside Benin. These villages were Uzebu where Ojomo lived, Uselu where the Edaiken and the Oba's mother lived, Urubi where the Ero lived, and Idumu-Oliha, Idumu-Oloton, Idumu-Eholor and Idumu-Edohen where Oliha, Oloton, Eholor and Edohen respectively lived.

80. These villages were run on much the same lines as Benin itself, the title-holder had his own court and conferred his own titles which were similar to those in Benin. There is an exception to this general rule in the case of Idumu-Oloton. The Oloton was the caretaker of Usama, where the Oba goes to be crowned. It is said that titles in Idumu-Oloton were always conferred by the Oba during his stay at Usama at the time of his installation.

81. At the present time Idumu-Eholor, Idumu-Oliha and Idumu-Edohen consist only of the title-holders house and perhaps one or two relatives and titles are no longer conferred by these Uzamas. It will be necessary to go into greater detail with regard to the other four Uzama villages.

UZEBU

82. Uzebu consists of four "Idumus", Ogbewaise, Ogbewebo, Ehaikpen and Ogbeuviomo. The organisation of Uzebu was very much the same as Benin. The Ojomo conferred titles and had both Eghaevbos and Ekhaime. The present Ojomo has conferred many of the traditional titles, but the title-holders, finding that titles in Uzebu did not bring them Court membership or a position on the Council have sought titles in Benin itself and are new unwilling to recognise the Ojomos authority. A list of the titles is given in Appendix 'E'.

USELU

83. Uselu consists of two quite distinct parts. Uselu Egwadaiken, where the Edaiken (Oba's eldest son) lives, and Uselu Egawaiyoba, where the Oba's mother lives.

84. The Edaiken does not go to Uselu until the ceremony of showing him to the people has been performed.

This is usually done when he is about sixteen. It happens therefore that there are long periods when there is no Edaiken at Uselu Egwadaiken. When he is in reseidence he has a Court exactly similar to that of the Oba with his own Iwebo, Iweguae and Ibiwe societies and he had the right to confer the same titles as the Oba. When there is no Edaiken at Uselu the Iyashere of Uselu summons meetings, but the Oba confers titles. There were certain villages which paid tribute to the Edaiken. It is said that when there is no Edaiken, the Uwangue of Uselu should receive this tribute and account for it to the Edaiken when he is installed. A list of the title-holders in Uselu Egwadaiken is given in Appendix 'E'.

85. Just as in Uselu Egwadaiken there are periods when there is no Edaiken at Uselu, so at Egwaiyoba, there are periods when, through death, there is no Iya-Oba in this part of Uselu. The Oba's mother held a court in the same way as the Edaiken. In the absence of an Iya-Oba, the Eson of Uselu was regarded as the head of the village.

URUBI. 86. Urubi which is the Ero's village, consisted of two distinct parts, Urubi and Emehe Urubi. Each section has its own Edion ju-ju, but both parts make sacrifice to both Edion. It appears that Ero was originally a war captain and that the Emehe were a guild which had certain functions to perform in connection with the harem. Esigie was the first Oba to send his mother to Uselu and he asked Ero to go and live near Uselu to protect her. The Emehe agreed to go and live with the Ero as they had certain ceremonies to perform with regard to Oba's mother.

87. In Urubi itself the Ero had the same powers and privileges as the other Uzamas, that is to say that he could confer titles, but he could not confer titles in Emehe, of which the Odianwele was head. Emehe were affiliated to the Ibiwe society. A list of the titles at present held in Uruni is given in Appendix 'E'.

IDUMU-OLOTUN.

88. There is nothing of particular importance to note with regard to Idumu-Oloton. A list of the titles at present held there is given in Appendix 'E'.

SUMMARY OF POSITION BEFORE ADVENT OF GOVERNMENT.

89. To summarise the administrative position before the advent of Government. In Benin itself there were a number of guilds which formed geographical and administrative units; there were also a number of geographical units which were inhabited by members of the three great societies and their off-spring, these units had no administrative entity, for administrative purposes the occipants were merged with the society to which they belonged. Immediately out side Benin but so closely connected with it that they must be treated as part of it were Uzama villages and certain guilds similar to those inside the city itself. At the centre of the constitution was the Oba himself. Surrounded by the title-holders of the three great societies.

90. I am satisfied that in theory, at least, the Oba was absolute ruler, but the degree of absolutism must vary with the character of the Oba, the state of the times and the power and influence of the various title-grades. There were always two great checks on the Oba's power, the power of ju-ju and popular opinion. The Oba may in a sense have been an absolute ruler but he himself was ruled by ju-ju. His every action, his every deed was circumscribed by ritual which, if neglected, might bring upon his head the wrath of the Gods. To quote an example, In the time of Oba Esigie the Uzamaz refused to come and attend the Oba's 'Ugie' ceremony, at which they had certain ceremonies to perform. An impasse seemed inevitable, the ceremony could not be performed without the Uzamas, but if the ceremony was not performed the wraths of his fathers might descend on the Oba. In this particular case a way out of the difficulty was found by creating fresh Uzamas within the city and digging a ditch so that they, like the true Uzamas, could crosse the ditch when coming to see the

Oba. In due course a reconciliation was reached with the true Uzamas, but the people who had come forward in the time of emergency were given the right to style themselves Uzamas n'Ibiye, minor rank of title holders which still exists. The point in that the title-holders and the ju-ju priests always had the power to put a check on the Oba, not by force or arms but by refusing to perform for him ceremonies which they alone could perform and which were essential to the Oba's welfare.

91. The second check, that of public opinion, was more uncertain it depended on the relative strength of the Oba and opposition and the scales were probably weighed in favour of the Oba, but every ruler, however, powerful must know that the worm may turn and must pay some measure of attention to popular feeling.

92. In practice the Oba always did consult the more important title-holders on major subjects and every day he held open Court known as Egwamaton to which the title-holders ahd the extrec and at which they had the right to voice their opinions. It seems that the Egwamaton was most regularly attended by the Eghaevbo n'Ogbe, less regularly by the Eghaevbo n'Ore and only very rarely by the Uzamaz.

DEVELOPMENTS SINCE THE ADVENT OF GOVERNMENT.

THE NATIVE COUNCIL.

93. Immediately after the capture of Benin stops were taken to form a native Council of the more important chiefs in Benin. This Council originally consisted of nine members and, with the Resident presiding, formed an administrative council for the whole of the Benin territories. Its composition underwent certain alterations but constitutionally the position remained unchanged until the installation of Oba Eweka in 1914.

94. After his installation the Oba with the assistance of a council of nine became the head of the administration. In 1916 the Division was divided into four Districts and Benin City was divided into nine Wards, each

District had a District Head appointed from Benin while the Wards were in charge of Ward Heads.

95. Further revision took place in 1921 when another District was formed and the District Heads became members of the Council.

96. Finally the Council was again reformed in 1936 and the District and Ward Heads were done away with. The present position is that the Oba is the Native Authority and has in advisory council composed of the Uzamas and the two grades of Eghaevbo title-holders. More will be said about this council in a later paragraph.

97. Besides these developments and alterations from without there have been certain internal developments. Benin is a growing and fast developing city and is repidly becoming commercialised. In selecting a site for a new house attention is no longer paid to the guild to which the prospertive owner belongs, but merely to its commercial possibilities or the amenities which the site offers. It is becoming increasingly difficult to identify a guild with a geographical unit. Moreover there has been great building activities on un-occupied land outside the old walls of the city.

THE FAILURE OF THE PRESENT COUNCIL

98. There can, I think, be no doubt that the council as a present constituted has a strong traditional basis, equally there can be no doubt that it is unsatisfactory. The majority of its members are obstructionist and reactionary and the principal motive behind its every action is self-interest.

99. It may be of advantage to try and discover the reason or reasons for the apparent failure of this council. In my opinion the primary reason is that the council is only representative of one small section of the community, the Ademotu, the so-called nobility in Benin. It is true that by tradition this class were the principal advisers of the Oba, but they interfered but little if at all with the administration of smaller units, the Guilds in

Benin and the villages in the Districts. The Oba is the father of all his people, but the Council members hardly regard the common people even as poor relations and have not thier interests at heart.

100. There is moreover, among a large section of the Council, strong personal animosity to the Oba. It is not possible here to go into all the reasons for this attitude, but the Oba has perhaps tended to too great a centralisation particularly with regard to the Uzama villages. To take one example. It is undisputed that the Ojomo has the right to confer titles in Uzebu, and the present Ojomo has done so. These title-holders, though ranking as Eghaevbo in Uzebu were not members of the Council or of the Native Court. They therefore came to the conclusion that titles in Uzebu were useless to them and apparoached the Oba to give them titles in Benin. In many cases thr Oba has done this, with the result that the people of Uzebu no longer pay any attention to the Ojomo.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BENIN CITY AND THE CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION.

101. Although this report deals only with Benin City and its environs, it is necessary to make some mention of the relationship existing between Benin City and the Central organisation of Benin Division. Since the advent of Government such administrative authority as has been delegated to the epople has been centralished in Benin City, first in the Native Council and later in the Oba and Council. These Councils have taken various forms but have had this in common, that they were representative only of the Adesotu class in Benin City.

102. Such complete centralisation has, in my opinion, no real basis in tradition. It is true that the Oba that before making an important decision, consulted his titled men and nobody else, but decision affecting the whole of the Benin territories must have been extremely rare. The vast majority of local affairs would be left to the council of the village or village group concerned.

103. Social development since the advent of

Government, particularly the introduction of a money currency and the almost total disappearance of communal labour, have lead to a degree of centralisation which was quite unknown before the advent of Government.

104. It is now generally admitted that the villages must have representation on the Central Council, but among a certain section of the Adesotu in Benin it has been suggested that they themselves are entitled to represent the villages. This claim is based on one of two grounds, either that 'the villages are ours' or that 'we were the spokesmen for the villages'.

105. The first of these claims refers to the fact that a number, not a very large number, of villages were originally founded by slaves of one or other of the important title-holders in Benin, such village names as Igue-Iyashere, Iguoshodin, Iguobazuwa are indicative of such an origin. These villages, although at first they may have served their former master seem very quickly to have attained the position of an independent village and to have had as much control over their own affairs as had village whose original inhabitants has been free. It is worthy of note that these 'slave' villages paid tribute to the Oba, not through their old master but through an 'Onotueyevbo' nominated by the Oba.

106. The second claim is based on this 'Onotueyevbo' system. Every villages had its 'Onotueyevbo' in Benin, a man through whom members of the village approached the Oba. It has been claimed that the 'Onotueyevbo' was the spokesman and the over-lord of the village. In my opinion neither of these claims can be substantiated. The correct interpretation of the term seems to be 'one who salutes for' and this precisely describes the function of the 'Onotueyevbo'. Only certain people had the entree to the Oba and any other person, wishing to see the Oba, must be introduced by a person having the entree. The function of the 'Onotueyevbo' was to introduce persons from the

village to the Oba, not to speak for them and far less to act as their over-lord. There are more villages which have state sword, as their 'Onotueyevbo' than there are villages who have one of the important Eghaevbos as 'Onotueyevbo'. It is perfectly true that many of the Eghaevbos were 'Onotueyevbos' or one or more villages and that these villages paid their tribute through them and that they retained some part of the tribute for themselves, but tribute was usually paid at one of the many festivals connected with the numerous ju-jus with which Benin abounded, and it was probably because he was connected with the ceremonies of the festival rather than because he was connected with the village, that the 'Onotueyevbo' was allowed to take some part of the tribute.

V - JUDICIAL

ANCIENT SYSTEM.

126. The judicial system in Benin City was similar to that found elsewhere in the Division. There was no clear-cut distinction drawn between administrative and judicial functions, the administrative unit also being a judicial unit. Thus in Benin disputes or complaints between members or a Guild would go before a meeting of the Guild consisting of the title-holders and elders of the Guild. These Guild Councils had the right to hear and determine all cases in which member of the Oba's household were concerned. It would appear however, that the only punishment which they could inflict was a fine.

127. Where the dispute was between member of different guilds, the elders and title-holders of the two guilds would meet and try to settle the case.

128. In the case of the Adesotu a dispute would probably first be taken before the senior member of the title-grade. If he was unable to reach a settlement then a full meeting of the title-grade or Society would be summoned.

129. Where the dispute was between a member of a guild and an Adesotu members from the Guild and from the Society would meet together to settle the matter. This illustrates what I believe to be a basic principle of the ancient system of justice, namely that a man had a right to have his dispute settled by his own people, by people who knew him.

130. Cases of withcraft were always tried by ordeal and would be sent to one of the guilds whose special function it was to administer the ordeal, but the ordeal could not be administered without the consent of the Oba.

131. The Oba himself tried all cases of homicide and he alone could pass a sentence of death.

THE UZAMA VILLAGE

132. The Uzama Villages were each a judicial unit of their own and, on a smaller scale, functioned in the same way as Benin City. The Uzamas themselves had the power of life and death though it is said that they should report to the Oba before carrying out the sentence.

APPEALS.

133. All persons had the right of appeal to the Oba and these appeals would be heard at the daily Court known as Egwamaton at which the Eghaevbo would be present.

SYSTEM SINCE ADVENT OF GOVERNMENT.

134. Almost immediately after the occupation of Benin City a Judicial Council was set up. This Council sitting with the Resident as President and with certain of the important title-holders as members, had jurisdiction over the whole of the Benin Territories.

135. In 1914 a Native Court was established in Benin City with 'B' Grade powers. This had jurisdiction over Benin City and Benin District. Except for the fact that the size of the Benin District has been gradually whittled down the position has remained virtually unchanged since

that time, the Benin Native Court having jurisdiction over the Benin District. Its present membership consists of twelve persons, one of whom is an Itsekiri from Ogba, one of whom is a title-holder from Uselu and the rest of whom come from Benin City. These members from Benin City are for the most part only minor titlde-holders.

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APPENDIX "A".

LIST OF OBAS WITH APPROXIMATE DATES.

Name.		Date.
1. Eweka I.	Circa	1200
2. Uwakhuahen	Circa	1220
3. Ehemihen	"	1235
4. Ewedo	"	1255
5. Oguola	"	1280
6. Edoni	"	1290
7. Udagbedo	"	1299
8. Ohon	"	1334
9. Egbeka	"	1370
10. Orobiru	"	1400
11. Uwaifiokun	"	1430
12. Ewuare.	"	1440
13. Ezoti	"	1473
14. Olua	"	1473
15. Ozoluwa	"	1481
16. Esigie	"	1504
17. Oghogbua	"	1550
18. Ehengbuda	"	1578
19. Ohuan	"	1608
20. Ahenzae	"	1641
21. Akenzae	"	1660
22. Akengboi	"	1666
23. Ahenkpaye	"	1672
24. Akengbedo	"	1681
25. Ore-Ogbene	"	1686
26. Ewuakpe	"	1695
27. Akenzuwa I	"	1710
28. Eresoyen	"	1735
29. Akengbuda	"	1750
30. Obanosa	"	1804
31. Osemwede	"	1816
32. Adolor	"	1848
33. Ovonramo	"	1888 - 1897
34. Eweka II	"	1914
35. Akenzua II	"	1933

APPENDIX "B"

GUILDS AT PRESENT EXISTING

IN BENIN.

(A). AFFILIATED TO IWEBO SOCIETY.

Name	Nature of Service.	Title of Headman	How Appointed
Avbiogbe	Town cries and land dividers	Okao Iyagbogbae	By appointment
Emadase	"Oro Dancers"	Obobaifo Obagbon	- do -
Isekpokin	Leather Workers	Okao	By Seniority
Igbesavban	Wood & Ivory carvers	Eholor	By appointment
Igwamaton	Blacksmiths	Ine Igwamaton	- do -
Odioma	Ceremonial Executioners	Okao	- do -
Ikpema	Drummers	Omuemu	Hereditary
Igbuzebu	Dancers	Odionwele	By Seniority
Iwefevben	Caretakers of Ake juju	Odionwele	- do -
Iwoki	Weather prophet and Astrologers	Odionwele	By appointment
Ipogun	Caretakers of Evbonedo & Evbogun jujus	Odionwele	By seniority
Owina n'edo	Cloth Weavers	Esama Ego	By appointment
Igweromo	Brass workers	Ine Igweromo	Hereditary
Efa n'ozeben	Priests of Aruogba	Ogiefa n'ozeben	- do -
Efa Omuekpo	Priests and Diviners	Ogiefa Omuekpo	- do -
Efa Ezele	Priests and Diviners	Ogiefa Ezele	- do -
Efa Oronbator	Priests and Diviners	Ogiefa Oronbator	- do -
Efa Aighobahi	Priests and Diviners	Ogiefa Aighobahi	- do -
Ukhegie	Priests of Ikhure juju	Ojioba	- do -
Igwisi	Private services to the Oba	Eson	By appointment
Iviakpen	Leopard hunters	Okao	By seniority
Ivekpen	Leopard butchers	Okao	- do -
Iviosa	Priests to Evbonedo juju	Osa	Hereditary
Ewa	Priests	Ohuoba	Hereditary
Esonokwa	Dancers	Oshian	By appointment
Izegbo	Dancers	Odionwele	By seniority
Ikpewini	Dancers	Unwana	By appointment
Ivbiawo	Witch Diviners	Okao	By Seniority
Isasa	Shield Dearers	IIukotun	By appointment
Evboyanyan	Orooms	Okao	By seniority
Ikawe (Ibiwe n'Ekwa)	Special Services	Edogun	By appointment

(B). AFFILIATED TO IWEGUAE SOCIETY.

Name	Nature of Service	Title of Headman	How appointed
Emehe	Private servants to Oba	Okao	By appointment
Ehorhan	Land Purifiers	Okao	By appointment
Eben	Funeral Ceremonies for the Oba	Okao Ebenakenzuwa	Hereditary.
Iwegie	Oba's Doctors	(See notes)	
Idumebo	Oba's Doctors	"	
Idumiwehen	- do -	"	
Evbiobama	- do -	"	
Iwotome	- do -	"	
Iwese	- do -	"	
Obakpe	- do -	"	
Etebite	- do -	"	
Ogadoloisa	- do -	"	
Ogovonrame	- do -	"	
Ogeweka	- do -	"	
Ewsehia	- do -	"	
Ewaisede	- do -	Odionwele	By seniority
Evbieme	Special services	Okao	Hereditary
Ikpokpan	Dancers	Okao	By seniority
Isiemero	Oba's Bodyguard	Ekegbian	By appointment
Oguanaogbe	Witch Diviners	Osajiobator	By appointment
Iwowa	Receivers of River dues	Ogwa n'Iwowa	By appointment
Amufi	Acrobats & Eagle hunters	Okao	By appointment
Iweoghene	Storekeepers of Yams	Ikuobasoyeme	By appointment
Uhumu-Idumu	Keepers of site of Ugodo Nigodo	Odionwele	By seniority
Unueru	Keepers of Osun ju-ju	Odionwele	By seniority
Iboisa	Priests of Osun ju-ju	Odionwele	By seniority
Osuan	Priests of Evbonedo juju	Osuan	Hereditary
Isekpokin n'Iweguae	Leather workers	Okao	By seniority
Ihogbe	Priests of Ani ju-ju	Ihama	Hereditary.

C. AFFILIATED TO IBIWE SOCIETY

Name	Nature of service.	Title of Headman	How appointed
Eruerie	Guardians of Oba's wives	Uso	By appointment
Ivbiemezi	Ceremonial farmers	Odionwele	By seniority
Ogunimefo	Blacksmiths to the harem	Odionwele	- do -
Iwarame	Butchers	Ehondor	By appointment
Ibieriye	Repairers of harem	Odionwele	By seniority
Iwehiaze	Dividers of sacrifical animals.	Odionwele	- do -
Iriamila	Cow herds	Okao	- do -
Iwenogan	Priests to the harem	Olotu	By appointment.

APPENDIX " C.

NOTES ON THE GUILDS AT PRESENT EXISTING IN BENIN.

A. Guilds affiliated to Iwebo.

1. Avbiogbe. This guild traces its origin to the second Yoruba migration. It consists of three sub-sections known as:-

Iyagboghae

Ewagha.

Edoghiria.

Each of these sub-sections had its own Okao, those in Iyagboghae and Ewagha were appointed by the Oba. but the Okao of Edoghiria was hereditaty. The Okao Iyagboghae is regarded as the head of the Guild. When the Oba alloted land it was the function of the Avbiogbe to go and demarcate the boundaries. They were therefore regarded as expert witnesses in land cases. In addition they were town-criers and announced any decision or law made by the Oba. At 'Ugie' ceremonies the Avbiogbe hold a stick across the road while all the title-holders dance. Those who have completed their title pass under the stick, those who have not yet completed their title must pass round.

2. Emadase. According to traditon Oba Esigie made war against the Attah of Idda. When he had conquered him all the Oba's followere started to plunder. The Oba announced that they might take slaves, beads, cows or any other valuables for themselves but that they were to bring to him all food-crops. The pillage went on until the country was devastated and the Oba's followers could find no food. The Oba having made a 'corner' in food stuff then oriceeded to sell food to his followers in exchange for the slaves and other valuables which they had collected. With the slaves thus acquired he formed the Emadase guild. They are Oro Dancers and perform certain rites at Ugie ceremonies. Oba Eweka II created the non-hereditary title of Obabaifo Gbagbon in this Guild.

3. Isepokin. It is said that Ogiame, the son of

Envian ..../

APPENDIX "D".

MINOR TITLES IN THE THREE SOCIETIES.

(A). OGIE UKOR N'IWEBO.

1.	Eriyo	12.	Osia
2.	Obasoyen	13.	Inene
3.	Uso	14.	Arasokun
4.	Esenuan	15.	Obasayo
5.	Osanaiye	16.	Osonaiye
6.	Unionyen	17.	Obama jagbonrhia
7.	Obasogie	18.	Ayobagbon
8.	Edosoma	19.	Obazuhumuwa
9.	Obakhamwaiye	20.	Ovientaba
10.	Obamedo	21.	Enoha
11.	Obaruduagbon	22.	Ebalogban.

(B). EKHAIME N'IWEGUAE.

1.	Ehanire	13.	Ohonba
2.	Eranoyan	14.	Eranuwen
3.	Ogwa	15.	Oghator
4.	Exama	16.	Ehana
5.	Asuen	17.	Esa
6.	Obayangbon	18.	Aro
7.	Obahanye	19.	Otome
8.	Uwaya	20.	Ewaen
9.	Obadagbonyi	21.	Obadoloagbonyi
10.	Efobasota	22.	Osamunyinoba
11.	Ikuobasonyeme	23.	Osawagbon.
12.	Uwoyo		

(C). EKHAIME NIBIWE.

1.	Imasogie	7.	Isasamoye
2.	Arase	8.	Ehondor
3.	Osogwa	9.	Idukpaiye
4.	Eholor	10.	Osajogben
5.	Ebagwa	11.	Agbonbayeme
6.	Obaraiwe	12.	Obadolaiye.

APPENDIX "E".

EGHAEVBO TITLES IN UZAMA VILLAGES.

(A). UZEBU.

1.	Eson	5.	Obuda
2.	Esama	6.	Ezomozelu
3.	Obakponmene	7.	Ezomogbene
4.	Ezabayor	8.	Ogunsonyen.

(B). USELU EGWADAIKEN.

1.	Iyashere	5.	Aiyobahan
2.	Eson	6.	Oshodin
3.	Obamarhiaye	7.	Esere
4.	Eribo		

(C) USELU EGWAIYOBA.

1.	Esama	7.	Aiyobajogbe
2.	Eson	8.	Uso
3.	Uwangue	9.	Eholor
4.	Ine	10.	Obasogie
5.	Obazuaiye	11.	Osagiobator
6.	Obahiagbon		

(D) URUBI

1.	Eson	3.	Ohanero
2.	Ehiero	4.	Isama

(E) IDUMU-OLOTON.

1.	Ehelema	4.	Elemurogho
2.	Oduse	5.	Ulara
3.	Ikpetuema.	6.	Olague.

NOTE:- All the titles which exist in Benin City are said also to exist in the Uzama Villages, but those listed above are those at present in existence.

Envian who was the principal opponent of Agamiyan, was a worker in leather. After Ogiame, had allowed Oba Ewedo to enter the city he and his children became the principal leather workers in Benin, but in the time of Oba Esigie the Oba sent people to learn the trade from Ogiame. When they had been trained they formed a new guild known as the Isepokin. This guild makes all ceremonial leather work except the throne known as 'Ekete' which is still made by Ogiame.

The senior member of the Edion grade is the head of the guild but he is called the Oka, the man next after him being known as the Eholor and third as the Ine.

4. Igbesanvban. The Igbesanvban are the wood and ivory carvers. This guild is said to have been formed by Ewuare. In this guild there are three title-holders known as the Eholor, the Obasoyen, and the Ine Igbesanvban. All are appointed by the Oba, but the last two appointments are made on the recommendation of the Eholor.

5. Igwamaton. The Igwamaton are the blacksmiths. They are reputed to have come from Ife with Agamiyan. This guild is divided into four-sections as follows:-

Sub-section.	Nature of Service	Titles. N	How appointed
Iguenekwa	Makers of ceremonial 'Ada' and 'Eben'	Ine Igwama - ton Eholor	By appointment "
Inyemugiem	Makers of 'Osun (Iron trees used on juju Shrines) & large lamps used by the Oba	Obazuwaiye Ine Eholor Okao	Hereditary Appointment "
Ugboha	Makers of small hand lamps and of bells	Obasogie Okao	Hereditary Appointment
Oguniwegie	General blacksmiths	Eholor	- do -

The head of the whole guild is in the Ine Igwamaton. (Notes:- There are also blacksmiths attached to Ibiwe, but these are separate).

6. Odioma. From this guild came the ceremonial executioners who performed executions at human sacrifices. Victims for sacrifice were selected by the Oshodin and the

Elema .../

Elema from among the prisioners in 'Ewedo' the Oba's prison. Those prisoners who were not required for human sacrifice were generally released and were known as Isegan. They wore a cowrie tied round their ankle and in the event of the supply of prisoners running out one of these ex-prisoners would be taken.

The head of the Odioma was the Okao who was appointed by the Oba but he had to be a member of the Ukebo society, as only members of thie society were allowed to participate in human sacrifice. The ceremonial of these executions was strictly prescribed, even as to such details as the way in which the executioner should hold the sword. It was also important that no mention should be made of the fact that the victim was to be killed. The words used being "where is Odioma, where is he? He knows what to do". The executioner would then step forward and carry out the execution. Any infringement of the ritual was looked upon as tantamount to murder.

7. Ikpema. This is the guild of drummers. There are many different kinds of drum and each drum has its own sub-section, but many of them live in the villages. The Omuemu is the head of all drummers in Benin. This is an hereditary title.

8. Igbuzebu. It is said that when Orhogbua was Oba he was absent from Benin for a very long time on an expedition to the sea coast. He left his eldest son who afterwards became Oba Ehengbuda at Uselu. The Edaiken, as the eldest son of the Oba is called, obtained a slave from Ijebu-Ode who was a great dancer and the Edaiken decided to learn the dance. On the Oba's return, Akere, a member of Iweguae, reported to the Oba that, during his absence, the Edaiken had been dancing the Oro dance. This dance is forbidden to the Edaiken, as its performance by him would imply that he did not wish his father to return. The Oba sent for the Edaiken who offered to ring the dancers to Benin to rprove that it was not 'Oro' that he had been dancing.

Before ../

Before leaving Uselu, the Edaiken, told his mother that he was going to Benin to prove his innocence. If she heard one shout she would know that all was well, but if she heard more than one shout she would know that he had been found guilty. The Edaiken was popular with the people of Benin and when he arrived with his dancers they greeted him with a shout. He then performed the dance and the people, seeing that the accusation against the Edaiken was false, gave another cheer. The Edaiken's mother hearing this second shout and believing that her son had been killed threw herself down a well. In the mean while the people of Benin seized the false informer Akere and killed him. It is said that from that time members of Iweguae have been reluctant to go to Uselu.

Each Oba has his band of Uzebu dancers and certain of the title-holders have their own bands but before they can form a band they must give a man to the Oba to be put in his Uzebu company. The Odionwele is the head of Igbuzabu.

9. Iwefevben. According to tradition, while Oba Ewuare was in exile his principal companions were Ake, Ogan and Okwahe. Ake carried a bow and arrow, Ogan a spear and Okwahe native medicine. After Ewuare became Oba, Ake went to Isi and became a ju-ju but his bow and arrow were sent to Benin and the Oba formed a company called Iwefewben to keep these relics of his friend. At the Isiokwo festival at which the Oba makes sacrifice to the instruments of war, the Iwefevban, with the Iluobi company from Isi who made poison for the arrows, produce these relics before the Oba. The Odionwele is the head of this guild, but the holder of the Erio title who is in charge of other relice of Ewuare is in charge of the Ake ju-ju in Benin.

10. Iwoki. According to tradition the founders of this guild were the first Europeans to reach Benin. They are known locally as Avan and Uti. It is said that at that time the Oba was hvaing trouble with the Uzamas and consulted the Europeans as to the best method of dealing with them.

It was agreed that at the next Ugie ceremony Avan and Uti should stand on either side of the Oba, armed with their pistols, which were of course unknown in Benin. If the Uzamas were truculent one of them should be shot 'pour' encourage les autres'. The sc-heme went according to plan and one of the Uzamas was shot and the others were brought to heel. Since that time members of Iwoki stand at either side of the Oba at Ugie ceremonies unless the Edaiken and the Ojomo are present. If they are present the Ojomo stands on the Oba's right and the Edaiken on his left.

Before the expedition the Iwoki always lodged any Europeans who visited Benin. They were also astrologers and weather prophets. The Odionwele is the head of the guild.

11. Iwogun. This guild, said to have been formed by Oba Ewuare, are cafetakers of the Evbonedo and Evbogun ju-ju shrines. Their head is the Odionwele.

12. Ogbelaka. Ogbelaka holds a peculiar position. It consists of a number of guilds, each with its special function to perform for the Oba, but all these guilds join together to render special services at the Ugie ceremonies. Ogbelaka may possibly be a survival of one of the hamlets which formed the original Benin. It is said that in the time of Oba Ozolua, Ogbelaka was ruled over by a man called Ilekidi who became very powerful and rivalled the Oba. He was finally conquered and killed by the Oba and all his people were scattered. Ogbelaka, as at present consituted dates from the reign of Oba Esigie. During his reign, his brother Arhuaran who was Onogie of Udo rebelled against the Oba. He had got possession of a certain ceremonial bead known as 'Ivieokpagabru' and the Oba made war against him to recover this bead. The Oba's mother sent some of her slaves to accompany the Oba to the war, which lasted for many years. At last the Oba was victorious and Arhuaran threw himself into the lake known as Odighiri Arhuaran, but before doing so he had put a curse on the bead 'Ivieokpagbaru'. When the Oba arrived at Udo he found the Uwangue and the Eribo

quarreling for possession of the bead, but he took it from them and put it on. Arhuaran's curse took effect and Esigie became deranged in his mind. In order to conceal the Oba's conditon, his mother's slaves formed round him and began to dance and to sing so that no one could get near the Oba to observe his condition. In this way they brought the Oba back to Benin where he gradually regained his sanity. The Oba's mother asked for the return of her slaves but the Oba, saying that they had rendered a great service to him, refused and formed them into a guild and sent them to live in the deserted Ogbelaka. These slaves were the forefathers of the guild known as Esonokwa. At certain ceremonies they come with others from Ogbelaka to perform a dance in commemoration of their previous service. In this section of Ogbelaka there are three titles:-

Oshian)	Held alternatively by a member of Iwebo and
Agona)	a member of Ogbelaka.
Azelu	Hereditary.

Although the Esonokwa were the first to settle in the new Ogbelaka, they are not now the senior, this position in held by the Ewa. The Ewa were priests of the Evbonedo ju-ju and are said to have come from Ife. At first they settled at Usehin but later removed to Benin and settled in Idumiwebo but were later removed to Ogbelaka. It is said that Uhuoba and six others at first removed to Ogbelaka. The Uhuobis who is an Eghaevbo N'Ogbe comes every morning with six other men from Ogbelaka and perform a certain ceremony for the Oba. Until this ceremony has been performed it is said that day has not dawned and the Oba may see no one and may perform no ceremonies.

In addition to the Uhuoba, who is appointed by the Oba from among the Iwebo, there are now two other titles, created by the present Oba, among the Ewa. These are Ogbonoba and Obamugie.

The third section in Ogbelaka is called Izegbo. It is said, there was much sickness among the Esonokwa in Ogbelaka,

So Oba Esigie went to Idumiwegie to make sacrifice and find out the cause of the sickness. When he had done so he demanded that a doctor called Izegbo should be sent to live in Ogbelaka. Idumowegie at first refused but the Oba then asked for his money back in the form of the animals which he had sacrificed to the juju. As the animals had already been killed and Idumiwegie had none to replace them, they finally agreed to the Obas request and sent Izegbo to live in Ogbelaka. The Odionwele is the head of Izegbo.

Next come two closely related sections known as Ikpewini and Ileha. They claim to have come from Ilaje in the Okitipupa Division and to have been living in Ogbelaka before its destruction by Oba Ozoluwa. They were then driven out but later returned. They are dancers.

In Ikpewini there is a title known as Unwana, which is held by appointment. There used to be two titles, Uwa and Alusi, in Ileha but these are now extinct and the Odionwele in the head of this branch.

The Iviawo also claim to have come from the Okitipupa Division, this time from Ugbo. They had the special power of detecting witches. This was done by cracking a certain nut, if the kernel was black the person was guilt of witch-craft, but if the kernel was white and chalky, he was innocent. This was the final test for a witch, and was considered more efficacious than sasswood. The head of this section was an Okao.

The Isasa were founded by Oba Ewuara and originally lived in Iwebo but were later removed to Ogbelaka. They were shield-bearers, to the Oba. There were several titles among this section, all of which were held by appointment.

They were:-

Ilukoton

Ilukohi

Isagbwa

Ekeoghae

Okoroghae.

The Ogaegware carry Adas and guard the Oba at the Ugie ceremonies. Their head is the Iyalodin. This title is held by appointment.

The Ogbozu were related to the Oba. Their duty is to carry drinks to the title-holders at Ugie ceremonies. The Odionwele is the head of this section.

The Evboyanyan were grooms when the Oba had a stable of horses. Their head is the Okao.

At a ceremony known as Orhu the Oba's mother prepares a feast for the Oba and title-holders. This is the only occassion on which the Oba's mother is allowed to cook. It is supposed to commemorate a feast prepared by Esigie's mother before he left for the Udo war. At this feast the Emahe, who are a part of Esonokwa, share out the food.

13. Igun Erovbon. (Igweromo). The Igun Erovbon are said to have come from Ife with Agamiyan. They are workers in brass and were official recorders in brass of matters of historic interest. They also worked in terra-cotta. Each Oba has a symbol of which he is known so that by looking at an Old piece of Brass the Igun Erovbon can tell to what Oba it refers and to what incident in his reign. At one time only a few of them are held. They are all said to be hereditary. They are:-

Ine Igun Erovbon

Ehanire

Obadolaiye

Ehama

Akeniwa

14. Ogiefa N'Ozeben. Ozeben is said to have been one of the followers of Obanigodo, the first Yoruba prince to come to Benin country. After this dynasty died out in the reign of Ogiso, Ozeben's children, and the children of the other followers of Obanigodo formed the series of hamlets which were known as Ile and were found here by the second Yoruba migration. As representatives of the original inhabitants of

the land, they became priests of the 'Otor' or land jujus. The head of Ozeben's family is known as Ogiefa N'Ozeben and is the priest of the Aruogha ju-ju. This title is hereditary.

15. Ogiefa N'Omuekpo. Omuekpo is said to have been a descendant of Ozeben. Originally he was a priest of the land ju-ju but he and his brothers were deprived of their rights which were given to the Ihogbe in the time of Oba Esigie. The head of the guild is the Ogiefa N'Omuekpo, an hereditary title. They are now diviners for the Oba.

16. Ogiefa N'Ezele. The story is exactly the same as that of Omuekpo. The Ogiefa title is hereditary.

17. Ogiefa N'Oronbator. As above.

18. Ogiefa N'Aigobahi. As above.

19. Ekhegie. This is another unit which traces its origin to the earliest times. It was here that Ojioba, who is supposed to have carried from Ife the magical snail-shell which had the power of creating land, is said to have settled and it is here that the Ikhure ju-ju representing the spot where the snail-shell was buried, is situated. This is the parent land ju-ju throughout Benin territory. The title Ojioba is an hereditary title and the holder of it is the priest of 'Ikhure'.

Also living in Ukhegie, which is just outside the Wall, is the Ine Ogun. He is said to have been put here by Oba Eweuare, and his special function was to supply oil to the Edaiken on his way to and from Uselu to see the Oba. This title is also hereditary.

20. Owina N'Edo. This is the guild of close weavers. It is said to have been formed by Oba Ohen. There are two titles, both of which are held by appointment. They are:-

Esama Ego

Obazouna.

21. Iviakpen. It is said that while Ewuare was banished from Benin, he fell asleep in the Forest. When he awoke he found that he had been lying on a bao-constrictor while a leopard was lying along a branch above his head.

Ewuare killed both creatures and used the leopard to make sacrifice to his father. When he became Obe he ordered that an annual sacrifice should be made to commemorate this event and he formed a guild of leopard hunters whose duty it was to catch and keep leopards for sacrifice. At first they lived with the Iwebo in the middle of the town, but it was found inconvenient to have leopards in the middle of the town and the new guild which was called Iviakpen were given their own quarter. There are two branches of this guild living outside Benin, the one in Iyekogba, the other in Iyekikpoba. The senior Odionwele of these two branches moves into Benin and becomes the Okao of all Iviakpen.

22. Ivekpen. At the same time as Ewuare created a guild to capture leopards he created another guild to skin and butcher the leopards after sacrifice. This guild was known as Ivekpen. The flesh of the leopards was divided among the Iwebo society while the skin went to the Oba. The Odionwele, becomes the Okao in this guild.

23. Ivbiosa. The origin of this guild is the subject of dispute. Some claim that it came from Ife with the second migration, while others contend that Oba came down from heaven in the time of Oba Ewuare. It is closely connected with the Ivbiosuan guild in Iweguae. Both guilds are guilds of priests and appear to be a fertility cult. Once a year they hold a ceremony during which all pregnant women have to do out-side the walls. It is popularly supposed that during this ceremony a male priest, known as Izeho, gives birth to a child. Ivbiosa are particularly concerned with the Ora ju-ju. The head of the guild is the Osa, whose title is hereditary.

Both Ivbiosa and Ivbiosun are said to be peculiar in that they alone in Benin practiced cannibalism. According to one story Osa is said to have been an Ibo. Among other things he is priest of the Igun ju-ju which is worshipped by all smiths. According to tradition there were black-smiths in Benin before the arrival of the Portuguese. The iron one

would probaly come from Ibo country and it would not therefore be surprising to find an Ibo as the priest of the smith's juju, and if such were the case it would not be surprising to find that he practiced cannibalism. It has been suggested else where in this report that Benin may have been struck by a thunder bolt in the time of Oba Ewuare, and it is possible that the tradition that Oba came down from heaven refer to this event, the head of the smith's ju-ju becoming the prist of this new phenomenon.

24. Ikawe and Ibiwe N'Okwa. The Ikawa are the descendants of the Oba through the female line. They do not form a guild in the strict sense, as they never formed a geographic unit. They lived in various parts of Orenokwa, particularly in Idumibiwe and in Igwisi. It was forbidden for persons closely related to the Oba to become title-holders in the Societies and therefore the Ikawe had a title grade of their own known as Ogieologoro. Ikawa who had taken one of these titles were known as Ibiwe N'Ekwa.

The following is a list of the Ogieologoro titles:-

Idogun

Eson

Ezobor

Edaza

Uso

Eshogwa

Ana

Arala

Obaloza

Ekegwa

Iderogun

Obasogie

Ezomorogo

Idamaze

Ine

Obasohan.

It is said that the holders of all these titles with the

exception of the Ezobor title, are appointed by the Oba from among the Ikawe. The Ezobor title is hereditary. The story goes that the first holder of this title was a friend of Oba Ewuare. At that time Ewuare was very worried because he had no sons, but the Ezobor said that he knew of a medicine man at Uzia who could make medicine which would ensure that the Oba had sons. He went with the Oba to Uzia and persuaded the medicine man to make medicine for the Oba. The first medicine was made and given to one of the Oba's wives, who in due course produced a son. Medicine was made a second time and given to another wife who also produced a son, but while the medicine man was mixing the third lot of medicine it came on to rain and a drop of rain fell in the mortar in which the medicine was being ground. The medicine man wished to throw away the medicine and he said that a son produced by this medicine would kill the maker, but the Oba insisted on taking the medicine and the wife to whom it was given afterwards had a son who became Oba Ozoluwa. The medicine-man's prophesy came true as Oba Ozoluwa made war on Uzia and the medicine man was killed.

The Ezobor was rewarded for the part he had played in getting sons for the Oba by making his title hereditary.

The Idogun is the head of all the Ikawa, but the holder of the Eson title, one of the Eghaevbo N'Ore titles, is regarded as the head of Igwisi where many of the Ikawa live.

B. Guilds affiliated to Iweguae.

1. Ewaise. This guild, which comprises all the Oba's doctors, holds an intermediate position between the true guilds and the Societies. It really consists of a number of minor guilds each of which is divided into two parts known as Ebo and Ewaise. In making sacrifices for the Oba both the Ebo and the Ewaise join together. There are in most of the minor guilds a head of the Ebo and a head of the Ewaise. The titles among the Ebo are all hereditary. The minor guilds are consituted as follows:-

Minor Guild	Ebo Titles.	Head of Ewaise	How appointed.
Iwegie	Igwezigbon	Otome	By appointment
		Obobaifo	- do -
Idumebo	Ehanika	Obahoware	- do -
	Obakpere		
	Eraluse		
Idumiwehen	-	Ozuwa	- do -
Evbionbama	Ojemese	Osagbaton	- do -
		Obayantor	- do -
		Alefoba	- do -
Iwotome	Edaigbon	Asohen	Hereditary
		Aloyohien	- do --
Iwese	Ebamawo	Odionwele	Seniority
Obakpe	Obadigie	Obamedo	By appointment
		Ogesoba	- do -
Etebite	Obariyese	Odionwele	Seniority
Ogadoloisa	Obadiaru	Odionwele	- do -
Ogovonramwe	Obakpe	Egwabayeye	By appointment
		Aigbobayi	- do -
Ogoeweka	Iyobaifo	Odionwele	Seniority
Ewasehia	-	Odionwele	- do -

The holder of the Otome title was always buried with the Oba.

In addition to the above mentioned branches of Ewaise there were many other branches living outside Benin.

2. Emehe. The Emehe performed certain secret ceremonies in connection with the Oba's harem. There are two sections in Benin, Emehe Iweguae and Emehe Iwonyimi. There was also another section living between Benin and Uselu who performed ceremonies for the Oba's mother and who also led the Edaiken to the palace before his installation as Oba. The two sections in Benin are led by an Okao appointed by the Oba.

3. Ehorhan. It is said that in the time of Oba Ewuare the Onogie of Udo was a very powerful man and that he obtained a tooth from every other Onogie in the Benin Kingdom and with them made a crown. Finally he decided to obtain a

tooth from the Oba but was killed by the Oba. His death was immediately followed by earth-quakes and storms. There was at that time a very famous native doctor living in Ora and the Oba sent to him to come and purify the land. He sent representatives to Benin and after they had made sacrifice the earth-quakes and other manifestations ceased. The people from Ora then asked to be allowed to return but they were not allowed to do so and were formed into the Ehorhan guild whose function it was to make sacrifice when the earth ju-ju had been defiled by incest or suicide. The head of the guild in an Okao.

4. Eben. This guild was formed by Oba Ewuare and performed certain ceremonies at the Oba's funeral. In the time of Oba Esigie the Oba requested them to make these ceremonies for his mother. They refused as they said the ceremonies were reserved for the body of Oba alone. Many of them fled from Benin and formed the village of Igueben in Ishan.

The guild was revived by Oba Akenzuwa I, and since that time each Oba has had his own section of the guild. Each section has its own Okao, the position ebing herditary. The Okao of the section formed by Oba Akenzuwa I is the head of the whole guild.

5. Ewaisede. It is said that the Ewaisede were originally the head of all the Ewaise guilds, but that they quarrelled with Oba Ewuare who replaced them by the Iwegie. There are no titles among the Ewaisede, the Odionwele being their head.

6. Ikpokpan. The Ikpokpan were dancers who are said to have been brough to Benin by Oba Olua. The first person in the guild to become Ukor N'Iweguae becomes the Okao of the guild.

7. Isiemero. Tradition says that during his exile before he became Oba, Oba Ewuare travelled throughout the world. Two of his companions were named Ikewuwu and Eze. When he became Oba he gave these two men followers and sent

Ikewuwu to live at Okha in Obajere District and kept Eze in Benin, giving him the title of Ekegbian. These men and their followers became the body-guard of the Oba and his police. They also carried out the execution of prisoners who were not used for human sacrifice. Among the guild in Benin there are the following titles:-

Title	How appointed
Ekegbian	By appointment
Amagizeme	Hereditary
Obadolaiye	"
Ejemisi	By appointment
Ine Isiemero	- do -
Obaruaiye	- do -
Eholor	- do -
Obasogie	- do --

8. Oguanogbe. Founded by Oba Akenzuwa I, the main function of this guild was to administer the sasswood ordeal. The Oba had to approve the administration in every case, but in cases actually sent to them by the Oba it is said that the parties never returned. Until the time of the present Oba the Odionwele was the head of the guild, but the present Oba has created two titles in this guild, Osajobator and Obayantor.

9. Iwowa. The rivers of the Benin Kingdom were divided up between the Oba, the Edaiken and the Oba's mother and certain dues were paid by persons using the rivers. It was the duty of the Iwowa to receive these dues. Their head was the Ogwa N'Iwowa who was appointed from Iweguae. There was also an Okao.

10. Amufi. This guild, formed Oba Ewuare, had to capture the Fish Eagles which were used in sacrifice by the Oba. They had a certain secret method of tree-climbing and at important festival they performed an acrobatic dance in the top of a tall cotton tree. This could only be done within the walls of Benin City and since the last cotton tree within the walls fell down some years ago the dance has fallen

into disuse. Their head, the Okao, is appointed by the Oba.

11. Iweoghene. The Oba received large quantities of yams by way of fines and confiscations. There was always a danger that a curse might have been put on these yams, so they were not used by the Oba himself but were used to trade with or as pressnts. The Iweoghene were the store-keepers of these yams. There were two titles in this guild, both of them being filled by appointment. They were Ikuobasoyeme and Ikueru.

12. Uhumuidumu. The original site of Benin is to the south-east of the present city. The members of Uhumuidumu are the caretakers of this original site which is now sacred bush into which only members of Uhumuidumu and ot Iweguae are allowed to enter.

13. Unueru. It is said that when Oba Ewuare was exiled from Benin he set fire to the town. The town burnt for three days while Ewuare stood at Unueru and watched it burning. At last the Odionwele of Unueru protested and by pointing out that Ewuare might, after all become Oba, persuaded him to give him an Osun ju-ju which had the power to stop the fire. Since that time Unueru have kept the Osun juju and they also store the yams from the Oba's ceremonial farm. This ceremonial farm which is made each year consists of seven rows of seven heaps. The Odionwele is the head of Unueru.

14. Iboisa. The members of this guild are priests of the Oba's Osun ju-ju. They are connected with the Ewaise. The Odionwele is the head of the guild.

15. Osuan. This is a guild of priests closely associated with the Ivbiosa in Iwebo. Like them they worship the Evbonedo ju-ju. The head of the guild is a priest who holds the hereditary title of Osuan.

16. Ihogbe. The founder of Ihogbe is said to have seen a brother of Agamiyan who came with him from Ifa. At first all the Ihogbe lived out-side the City wall with the Uzamas but later some of them were brought into Benin. They now

consists of two parts those living outside the wall being led by the Ihama, those inside the wall by the Isekhure. It is said that during the war against the Attah of Idda, when the Iddas were investing Benin, the Oba ordered the Efa priests to go and make sacrifice to the land ju-jus which were outside the City wall. The Efas, fearing the enemy, refused but the Ihama volunteered to go and make the sacrifices. He and his followers dressed themselves in white and carried leaves in their mouths. They took with them wooden images which they managed to place in fron of the shrines. The enemy, taking these images to be human concentrated their fire on them, and finding that they were apparently impervious to wound, took them to be immortals and fled. Ihama came back to Benin to report not only that he had made sacrifice to the ju-jus but that the enemy were in flight. When he arrived in Benin the Efa were making sacrifice to the land ju-ju in Benin but the Oba stopped them and said that in future the Ihama should make sacrifice to this ju-ju. The Ikhure ju-ju is now under his charge. This is a fertility ju-ju and all title-holders go to it when making their annual festival.

The following titles are held among the Ihogbe outside Benin:-

Title	How appointed
Ihama	Hereditary
Iletema	"
Idusimioba	"
Uhenuyi	By appointment
Obariyekagbon	" "
Obazuhumuwa	" "

In the part of this guild which is winthin Benin the following titles exists:-

Title	How appointed
Isekhure	Hereditary
Esegbure	"
Uhenuyi	By appointment
Ilegema	" "

Title	How appointed.
Uheloro	By appointment
Uhovbioba	" "
Idusimioba	" "

G. Guilds affiliated to Ibiwe.

7 1. Eruerie. The Eruerie hold a position between that of an ordinary trade guild and that of one of the Societies. They are said to have come from Ife with Agamiyan and to have been given charge of the Oba's wives and children. They claim that they were originally the senior guild but that, as Agamiyan was coming to Usama, his road was blocked by a fallen tree. The Eruerie only had small knives but the Avbiogbe had matchets and were able to cut through the trees and reached Usama first and were given the first place.

The Eruerie remained in charge of the Oba's harem, but after the arrival of Oba Ozoluwa's followers from ora, who were called Ibiwe, the Ibiwe began to play an increasingly important part in the care of the Harem and in the time of Oba Akenzuwa I the Ibiwe were given the status of a society. Never-the-less the Eruerie were and still are of importance, and no man can take a title in Ibiwe until he has become an Ukor Eruerie. Moreover in Eruerie itself there are four Eghaevbo N'Ogbe titles. These are Oshodin, Uso, Ezuako and Obazowa. Although the Oshodin ranks before the Uso in a joint meeting of Eruerie and Ibiwe, in Eruerie itself the Uso is the senior.

2. Ivbiemezi. The Ivbiemezi also claim to have come from Ife with Agamiyan. They appear to be a fertility cult and every year they make a ceremonial farm for the Oba at Ugbeku. This farm consists of seven rows of seven heaps of yams. The Odionwele is the head of the guild.

3. Ogunimefo. The Ogunimefo were blacksmiths to the harem. They were more particularly look-smiths! The Odionwele was their head.

4. Iwarame. The Iwarame were sacrificial butchers and killed and butchered all animals offered for sacrifice,

except leopard. Every Eghaevbo should send a son to join the Iwarame. There are two titles in this guild both of which are held by appointment. They are Ehondor and Isasamoyan.

5. Ibierive. This was the guild which was responsible for carrying out all repairs to the walls of the Harem. They were forbidden to marry outside their own guild unless a certain purification ceremony was performed. The Odionwele is the head of the guild.

6. Iwehiaze. This guild divided animals sacrificed at the Agwo festival. They have a separate apartment in the Oba's Egware. This apartment ois known as Ogwan. Originally it formed part of the Ibiwe apartment but it is said that Oba Eresonyen, going to Ogwan to find the Iwehiaze, found no one there as they had all gone to Ibiwe. The Oba therefore forbade Iwehiaze over to go to Ibiwe again. The Odionwele is their head.

7. Iriamila. This guild is supposed to have come from Ife. They are the Oba's Cowherds. There was formerly a title called Aigobajegbe in this guild but it is not now held and the Okao is the head of the guild.

8. Iwenoga. This guild was founded by Oba Ehengbuda and were given the name of Iwenoga because they were useful to the Oba. They are priest of the Harem. The head of the guild is a title-holder called Olotu.

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